1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

sembled for the chief's use and comfort while he lived, were disposed of. After the *fahu* took the pick of these, the *haatufunga* distributed the remainder among important chiefs and matapules, retainers, and relatives of the deceased, but kept a goodly share for himself, however. 768

The house built over a chief's grave was also called *faletolia*, according to my information, which is perhaps in error. Its practical purpose was to shelter the ornamental grave design (*fungaputu*) from wind and rain. The purpose avowedly ascribed to it, however, was that of protecting the dead chief from the sun and rain. There was no priest or caretaker in such a house, nor was food put there. Tapa and mats might be placed in it by way of remembrance. Such objects might be replaced with fresh ones from time to time. Sometimes a coconut leaf screen was put around the grave within the house. 765 349

The *falefeao* was an inferior dwelling house built near the *faletolia* of a dying chief, and used as a dwelling by his attendants. Some houses might already be located conveniently near the *faletolia*; others were especially constructed on the spot or moved from a former site. Baker's definition of *falefeao* as "the house built near the god's house for the reception of the sick" (no doubt when seeking divine intervention for a cure) would seem a more apt definition for *falctolia*, however. He says also that the *falefeao* may be any house built or used for those attending a superior's wants on some special occasion. 342 763

When one was about to die and the people were sent to fetch the sand for the grave, one person was sent to get a branch of the *aveave* and put it in the place in the cemetery where the sand from the beach was to be deposited. This was termed *ae aveave* (to plant the *aveave*). This branch was not removed but allowed to grow. 763

The digging of the grave is the last of the preparations and is never done while the sick person is still alive. Should the burial be postponed after the grave has been dug, the grave is filled up and the same site dug out afresh on the day of burial. 764

The funeral lights which are burned at night about a corpse are called *takipo*. A high chief has more lights than a commoner. There are three people to a torch, one to hold it, two to replenish it. The torch holders face the body, but are not near it. The earliest traditional mention of the *takipo* is afforded by the story of the death of the famous Tui Tonga Tuitatui who reigned about 1200 A. D. (26, p. 45). 764 416

Old, torn mats (*tauangaa*) are worn as a sign of mourning for a near relative. For a remote relative who is not a chief a good mat may be worn. The mourning mat worn by a chief over his tapa garment is called *fakangafingafi*. The generic term *taovala* applies to *tauangaa* and *fakangafingafi*. Neither tapa nor modern textile cloth may be so worn. 765 602 292

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

634 765 784 the *fytoca*. The provisions with which these *tabooed* women and mourners in general are provided were sent, on this occasion, with bales of *gnatoo*, first to the young prince, by the different chiefs and matabooles; the prince then ordered the greater part of them to be sent to the *tabooed* women: and they were accordingly carried and placed on the ground, at some distance from the grave, or else laid down before the temporary house, to which the chief of the *tabooed* women retires to be fed; and she orders them to be distributed to the different chiefs and matabooles, who again share them out in the usual way. The fifth and tenth days of such a ceremony are, however, marked by a greater quantity of provision than ordinary being sent, for which they give no reason but that of custom. On the twentieth day there is also an unusually large quantity sent; and this is by way of finishing the funeral ceremony.

634 765 With these provisions they also send every day a supply of *tomes**, to light up the *fytoca* during the night: these tomes are held by a woman, who, when fatigued with this office, is relieved by another: those who take the light into their charge are of the lower ranks. They, as well as the others, when not oppressed by sleep, in general, spend their time in talking upon in-

* The tome is a sort of torch.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

leaves of the *ifi* tree round the neck: but for Tooitonga the time of mourning is extended to four months; the mats being generally left off at the end of nearly three, whilst the leaves are still retained for another month. The *táboo* for touching his body, or any thing that he had on when he died, extends to at least ten months, and for his nearest relations fifteen months. (See Vol. I. p. 141.) Every man neglects to shave his beard for at least one month; and during that time merely oils his body at night, but not his head. The female mourners remain within the *fytoca* about two months, night and day, only retiring occasionally to the neighbouring temporary houses, to eat, &c. It will be seen, that what we have already related of these ceremonies differs in many respects, some in kind, and all in degree, from those attending the burial of the king: but those we are about to describe are altogether peculiar to Tooitonga's funeral.

In the afternoon of the day of burial, the body being already in the *fytoca*, almost every man, woman, and child, provided with a *tómë* *, and a piece of *holáta* †, sit down at about eighty

* A certain part of the cocoa-nut tree, of which torches are made.

† Part of the stem of the banana or plantain tree, used to receive the ashes falling from lighted torches.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

766 765 416 yards from the grave: in the course of an hour the multitude collects, probably to above three thousand, all clothed in old mats, &c. and seated as just stated. One of the female mourners now comes out of the *fytoca*, and advances in front, where she calls out to the people, saying *mo too, bea ofi my*, Arise ye, and approach; whereupon the people get up, and advancing about forty yards, again sit down: two men behind the grave now begin to blow conch shells, and six others, with large lighted torches, about six feet high, and six inches thick, (made of bundles of *tómēs*), next advance forward from behind the *fytoca*, descend the mount, and walk round one after another several times, between the *fytoca* and the people, waving their flaming torches in the air; they then begin to ascend the mount, at which moment all the people rise up together, and suddenly snap their *bolátas*, nearly at the same time, producing a considerable crash: they then follow the men with the torches, in a single line, ascending the mount and walking round the *fytoca*, as they pass the back of which the first six men deposit on the ground their extinguished torches, and the rest their *tómës* and *bolátas*, the mourners within thanking them for providing these things: thus they proceed round, and return to their places and sit down.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

peated the fourteen following nights, and as punctually cleared away by sun-rise every morning. No persons but the agents are allowed to be witnesses of these extraordinary ceremonies, at least it would be considered highly indecorous and irreligious to be so. On the sixteenth day, early in the morning, the same females again assemble; but now they are dressed up in the finest *gnatoo*, and most beautiful Hamoa mats, decorated with ribbons and with wreaths of flowers round their necks: they also bring new baskets, ornamented with flowers, and little brooms very tastefully made: thus equipped, they approach, and act as if they had the same task to do as before, pretending to clear away the dirt, though no dirt is now there, and take it away in their baskets. They then return to the *mooa*, and resume their mourning mats and leaves of the *ifi* tree. Such are the transactions of the fifteen days; every day the ceremony of the burning torches being also repeated. The natives themselves used to express their regret that the filthy part of these ceremonies was necessary to be performed, to demonstrate their great veneration for the high character of Tooitonga, and that it was the duty of the most exalted nobles, even of the most delicate females of rank, to perform the meanest and most disgusting offices, rather than the sa-

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

We found, upon our return, that our friends in the vessel had not been idle, in our absence, they had actively amused themselves in fishing, and during the day, had caught seven sharks.

Proceeding forwards about four days, at noon, we came in sight of Savage Island, so called by Captain Cook, on account of the barbarous appearance and behaviour of the natives. Having little wind, we did not come near it till night; but, through the dark, we discovered many of the natives with lights in their hands, fishing. These lights, as I afterwards found, when I came to Tongataboo, are a kind of torch, which they call Tomais, made from the bark of the cocoa-nut tree, which, every year, grows up with the young stem, as it rises from the old stock; and as the new stem increases, it separates from it, like the husk from the fruit.

These bark leaves, (if I may so term them) are of an aromatic unctuous nature, and rising from the tree, to the length of two or three feet, very well serve, when bound together, to supply the place of a torch. The inhabitants of the Southern Islands carry them by night, to the sea; as the light proves an excellent decoy to attract the fish, which they then easily catch with a small net.

As soon as we discovered the lights, the Captain ordered the ship-bell to be rung; immediately the lights vanished; but in a quarter of an hour they again appeared. If it had been day, we should

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

often divert themselves, viz, shooting rats, I became, after a time, almost as dextrous as the natives. To provide for this sport, they take out the kernel of the cocoa-nut, which being burned and chewed, the servants are sent to strew it in places near the road, in fences, and in hollow trees. Meanwhile the chiefs, with bows and arrows, take their station near, and making a squeaking noise exactly like the rats, these animals soon come out to feed upon the nuts, when the chiefs, ranged in order each for his turn, shoot at them for a wager; he that kills the most, in the same number of shots, wins the game.

They are a very active people, yet they often spend whole days, when they have no particular employment, in luxurious indolence. These days they generally close in dancing and singing; of which they are peculiarly fond.

The chief will send round the district, and collect together thirty, forty, or fifty young people of both sexes, to dance with his attendants by the light of tomais, or torches, formed, as we before showed, from the unctuous bark of the cocoa-tree.

These dances are very beautiful. Young women of the most graceful figure and comely features assemble on these occasions, their dark ringlets bespangled with aromatic flowers of a peculiar whiteness, their necks and shoulders encircled with wreaths of variegated flowers, tastefully strung to-

77: Whitcombe Y-3 (no date) 1930 OU9 Tonga OU9

Octopus stone (*maka feke*). A tiger shell is split in halves and fastened to a stone. Sometimes two or three half-shells are tied to the same stone, which is cone-shaped. The result looks like a rat, especially when a long tail is tied to the stone. The rat is trawled by a long line from a canoe, the fisherman who holds the line keeping the stone bobbing up and down in the water to attract the octopus. When the octopus dives for the rat he clings to it and is drawn into the canoe. 226

Spearing by torchlight (*ama velo*). The torch is made from *toume*, which is the dried sheath that protects the coconut flower. The fish are attracted by the lighted torch which is held at one end of the canoe, and are speared as they swim toward the light. [416]

Torchlight fishing with knives (*ama ta*). The fishermen wade on the reef with torches and long knives. As the fish swim toward the light they are cut down.

Shark fishing with a noose (*noo aga*). In Tonga the great shark-fishing grounds are between the islands of Eua and Tongatabu and it is here that the fishermen go in their canoes to sing their song to Hina, as follows: "Hina hau o mau ho sisi Ka mau mamata" (Hina, come and receive your garland of flowers so we may see). While the men are singing or chanting these words, they are also beating the sea with coconut shells attached to a long stick. There is a legend which tells of Hina, a beautiful woman who lived at Hala Kakala (road of flowers), and of how she was drowned in a whirlpool near Eua. While racing in a canoe with her lover, Sinilau, the whirlpool caught them and Hina was lost. From the spot where she was drowned sprang up the sharks, and to this day the people believe that their song to Hina will call the sharks to the reef. As they come toward the canoes, they are noosed and killed with clubs. [533] 226 773 226

Fish traps (*bola*). These traps are made by splitting the leaves of the coconut palms and plaiting them. They are then spread over a long stretch of reef when the tide is low. As the tide rises, natives wade out and prop up the leaves, thus trapping all fish that are in the enclosure. Hundreds of people; men, women, and children, form a line outside the *bola* waiting until the tide is out, to prevent the fish from escaping with the outrunning tide. At a given signal everyone jumps into the enclosure and spears the fish while they are in shallow water. More than a thousand fish may be speared at one time in this way.

416 /148 cont./ Almost all Tongan households also have smaller or larger mirrors, and
805 in some houses one even sees alarm clocks and vases with paper
353 flowers as a special adornment. The crepe-paper strips in garish
353 colors probably also became common as ornaments in dwellings (they often hang on the posts and suspended from the beams, because they are something special on the islands which are rather monotonous in color, just as the newspaper clippings and magazine illustrations on the posts and crossbeams are coveted because of their "curiosity-value." Various dwellings display, as decoration, more or less faded photographs
207 of family members taken on the main islands. One very rarely finds radios in Tongan houses; the reason may be less because of the difficulty of obtaining sets, but rather the inconvenience of providing them with dry cell batteries or accumulators. However, as a result of
404 the adoption of European textiles, sewing machines have become widely
177 used. One often sees the small hand-crank machines which are so practical for the Tongan way of sitting; but one also comes across treadle sewing machines, older ones as well as recent cabinet type
296 machines. For laundering textiles probably all households today are provided with zinc tubs and washboards, and in many households one
411 sees heavy flat irons heated with coconut shells. The weapons (clubs
178 and spears) which in the old sources are counted among the "household
179 equipment" have long since disappeared; only occasionally one sees
415 an old European shotgun. In the cook huts, now and then in the
177 dwellings, one still finds some of the traditional wooden bowls and basins which are being more and more replaced by the easily obtainable enamel basins, aluminum bowls and zinc tubs, just as the /149/ clay pots formerly imported from Fiji (393)

393. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 284.

or made in Tonga (?) (394)

394. W.C. McKern, Archaeology of Tonga /cited in English/ p. 117 ff.

226 [178] [177] were handed down from the past; a few new methods arose as a result of European influences.

/175/ From among the wealth of present procedures we mention the following:

Fishing with a Net:

kupenga pulou:

This is a round net with a circumference of four or five meters; its edge is provided with weights. The Tongan creeps unobserved towards a group of fish in shallow water and, with an adroit cast, throws the net over them.

kupenga sili:

The net has a rectangular shape and is between 6 and 18 meters long and approximately 1.2 to 2 meters wide. It has wooden-rod floats (some eight to nine centimeters long) and weights (approximately four to five centimeters long). The native who has discovered a group of fish over the shore reef, for example, creeps up adroitly without letting his shadow fall on the water, and throws the specially folded net in such a way that it falls in the shape of a semicircle and, spread out between floats and weights, cuts off the retreat of the fish fleeing back into the ocean, so that they are caught in the meshes. Straying fish are paddled into the net. With this method, three or four natives can work together, each one casting a kupenga sili, so that together the nets form a circle in the shallow water. The kupenga sili is also used another way: In waters abounding in fish (for example, along the west shore of the island of Lifuka), the natives let the net hang in the water in a straight line and then row toward it with an outrigger (or a European rowboat) while beating the water to drive the fish into the net. In the lagoon Ano 'Ava [146] of Nomuka the procedure is similar, but two natives usually wade in the same direction toward the net and vigorously beat the water

100: Koch--262 E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1955 OU9 Tonga OU9

/175 cont./

226 [416] with both hands; at night, the natives also ride around the net (the ends of which are anchored in the sea) in an outrigger and a benzol pressure lamp, in order to drive the fish into the net with the light. A further use of this favorite net is to form a circle with it on the reef, for example around a hollowed-out coral rock (fish hiding place); two natives standing in the center of the circle then drive the disturbed fish into the net.

kupenga tapo:

This net can be some 100 meters long and up to about three meters wide; the size of the meshes is intended for larger fish. It has weights and round wooden floats. In a place where the natives count on finding fish they "hang" the kupenga tapo in a straight line in the water, then depart and row toward it in a boat while beating the water to drive the fish into the net. They also like to ride in two boats (especially at night) one or two miles in front of the shore and spread out the net so that it forms a closed circle with the boats in the middle. The natives leap into the water and, splashing, drive the fish into the net. (They may succeed in getting 500 or even 800 fish.)

The kupenga 'ava is a similar net that usually two natives set out "suspended," particularly in the shallow lagoon Ano 'Ava of Nomoku; the natives cautiouly retreat and then wade splashing toward the net in which their favorite 'ava fish are caught. /175/

kupenga lelaki:

The net is approximately 30 to 40 meters long and 2½ or 3 meters wide. At flood tide two men ride in an outrigger some 20, 25 meters out from the shore. As soon as they discover fish (especially of the hohomo species) near the shore, they leap overboard and each man runs through the water--from the sea side--with one end of the net, and

/176 cont./

226 in the reef hollows on the surf side (liku) of the islands. They [462] fish alone or engage in joint fishing known as 'e'e, a group of them forming two rows and moving in shallow water. As soon as a fish is seen between the rows they form a circle and catch it with the talaki.

Spearing Fish:

tao:

[227] The fish spears have one to six (mostly three or four) points and are generally three or three and a half meters long. From a reef or a boat the natives very expertly hurl (thrust) the spear with one hand (tao velo) or with both hands (tao hoka) at the fish [416] spotted in the water. At night, two men also ride in an outrigger with a benzol pressure lamp in the bow. The native with his spear stands behind the lamp; the man paddling sits astern. Thus they spear the fish attracted by the light.

[227] With a smaller spear that has one or two (seldom three) points they also dive and kill the fish under water (tao uku).

Shooting Fish under Water:

sengai:

[227] This is done with a sling (sengai) made of a forked branch and a rubber strip (from an auto tire) and a small spear (tao ukame'a) made entirely of iron, which serves as an arrow. The natives, who [416] wear diver's goggles (sio'ata uku) of wood, glass, resin and rubber, self-made or bought from a merchant, swim inside or beyond the reef in more or less deep water, dive and shoot the fish swimming past, which they take to a boat that usually accompanies them.

Fishing with Hook and Line:

taumata'u:

In an outrigger (or a cutter) they go out to sea (some miles

/176 cont./

226 beyond the reef) and from the moving boat they drop into the water one or several fishhooks with bait (a piece of fish, more seldom chicken feathers set in lead) and a metal weight (copper, iron) on a line; /they drop it into the water/ sometimes not far /177/ above the sea bottom (some 20 to 90 meters deep); fish of various sizes and species bite.

From the reef they likewise throw a line (up to about 20 meters in length) with hook and bait into the sea; they also try catching fish at ebb tide in the hollows of the reef with small hooks, a weight and a shorter line (sometimes on a stick) (tauta'a).

fakatele:

In this method of fishing they ride around in an outrigger and have the end of an approximately 25 meter line slung around their bodies, and with this they pull hook and bait through the water; large fish, even sharks, bite.

Fishing with a Lamp:

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ama:

They go out along the reef in the dark at ebb tide with a benzol pressure lamp and kill the disturbed fish with a knife or a spear. In the kupenga sili and the tao methods they sometimes also use a lamp (see above).

Trap Fishing:

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[227]

finaki:

The spherical trap made of roots of the coconut palm (or of wire netting) (with an indented, funnel-shaped hole) with bait placed inside (a piece of half-ripe coconut meat or a piece of cooked manioc root) is put out on the reef at ebb tide or is dropped and anchored in the water some 20 or 30 meters from the shore; a line with a wooden float fastened to the finaki marks the spot. After

/180 cont./

227 178 824 however,--usually of fau (Hibiscus tiliaceus) wood--is still made exactly as it was in olden times. In the uloa community fishing expedition they use the heavy net plaited of coconut fibers, as they always have, since the available hemp material seems to be too weak 177 for this purpose. However, the long rope required for this procedure 283 is scarcely plaited any longer of the fau bast; they buy an imported 227 European rope. The fish spears today have iron points with barbs; 177 they buy the prongs ready-made from a shopkeeper or have them made by 178 a blacksmith in one of the chief towns. The points are inserted in the spear shaft and fastened with a wrapping of European fishline. 824 The ancient Tongan fishlines plaited of coconut fibers (466) 283

466. See, for example, J. Cook, Beschreibung... loc. cit. VI. p. 286.

have long since disappeared. Today the natives use the European 237 lines available in quantities from shopkeepers, just as they use exculsively the steel fishhooks introduced by whites and have apparently forgotten the traditional, beautiful hooks of tortoise shell and mother-of-pearl. (467)

467. Ibid.

224 417 177 Benzol pressure lamps have largely replaced the torches formerly customary in night fishing. The traps (finaki) on many islands are 227 already made more often of wire netting than of the roots of coconut 177 palms, and there is scarcely a Tongan who goes to the trouble of making 824 the weirs (pa) of bamboo and plaited coconut palm leaves, but generally uses wire netting for this purpose as well. Finally, some of the 501 178 boats used in fishing are still the traditional outriggers (popao, 177 rarely tafa'anga) (468)

468. See p. 349 ff.

but some are also rowboats and European-type sailboats which have re-